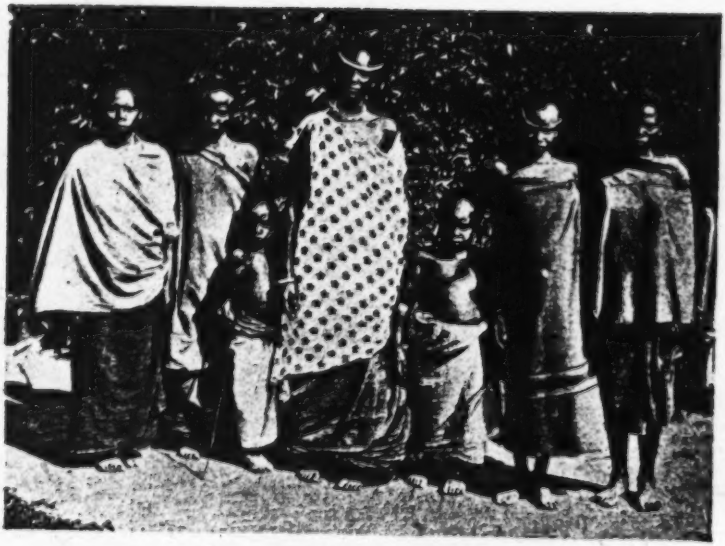
1:Vanhove--14B G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 19]

291
301



Mututsi lady surrounded by her children and her female servants.

(Official photograph, Colonial Office.)

592 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her chil-
595 dren, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

574 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents.
787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

●[301]

1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance, for it gave her the gait of cows that are universally admired in Ruanda.

[481]

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The
421 wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi,
563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientele contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
192

INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young

192
431
231

1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother

●[301]

2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[604] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

566 most unimportant and useless of things.

Along with the ubuguragu contract and other leases of live-
437 stock such as the ingwate and its variants, the indagizo (1) etc.,

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 46.

Ruanda common law has a number of other [79] contracts. We will list in the following which are those in most common use.

Purchase-sale (kugura)

These transactions take place in the markets (amaguriro,
443 plural iguriro), located usually at the crossroads of the thoroughfares.
437 The most frequented are those of Rukiga and Kinyaga. The people of Buganza and Buliza come there to exchange their cows for salt,
[435] provisions, beer, honey, baskets, etc. In the past, animals and things on sale were valued in hoes (1).

1. The salt seller wishing to obtain a bull calf would ask how much it was worth in hoes. He would be answered, "Fifty." He would then take a basket of salt valued at one hoe and would give 50 of these to the owner of the bull calf. A current expression was: "It is a three-hoe goat." Today a hoe is worth 8 francs.

Specialized merchants (abatunzi, lit., the rich) also go there and offer for sale produce and objects they have brought from far
[301] away, for example ubutega (2) made in Urega (country of the Warega).

2. These thin rings of rattan fiber worn around the legs by the Banyarwanda women from their ankles to their knees were formerly fairly valuable. Three thousand ubutega were worth a bull calf, and a complete set of the ornaments could be bought only with the payment of two sterile cows.
[435]

Sometimes they combine their resources in order to make large purchases (gufatanya urutundo, lit., to assemble business).

142 fact that almost all Batussi are haggard and lean. Only the older batwale (higher officials) and the affluent Baganwa (members of the royal family) have rounded body contours, but fat bellies are rarely seen even among older people. The waist is usually very thin; the chest and shoulders, however, are broad. All these characteristics are most probably the result of a long, more or less conscious natural selection, that is, breeding for great body height (cf. Luschan in Appendix II to No. 40, p. 252).

Most Batussi have sinewy limbs and a firm musculature, but no thick muscular flesh on the arms and legs. Calves are usually entirely lacking. Hands and feet are conspicuously graceful and finely jointed; by our standards they all have narrow ladies' hands with a glove size of 5 or 6 and long fingers, while their feet are narrow and small too, but with short toes. The wrist is so thin that even men can easily insert it into the [411] slit (2 1/2 to 3 1/2 centimeters wide) in the wooden discs with which they protect their left hand against the recoiling bowstring (see pp. 34 & 82). No adult European is able to do this. [301] Their copper or iron ornamental rings, worn on the right wrist, are all so narrow that they seem to be made for children. Aris- [554] tocrats let the nail on the little finger grow to a length of 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 centimeters as a mark of their nobility and their freedom from manual labor.

The neck is rather long and finely formed which gives the head an easy, proud bearing as contrasted with the Bantu Negro with his thick-set neck.

The head is very beautifully formed (Plate 17c, d). Since [302] the Batussi of Urundi mostly shave it smooth in contradistinction to those who live in Ruanda, one can always admire its high arch, its round, broad forehead, and its extraordinary length which makes the round occiput stretch out far beyond the base [141] of the neck. Skulls are extremely dolichocephalic.

With regard to facial form, I differentiate two types. The one, more noble, has a finely formed nose with a narrow tip and thin sides, a relatively small mouth, and narrow lips (Plate 17d);

[27] Chapter 3

Ornaments, Clothing, Weapons

301 The Barundi have very few body ornaments. Men and women wear thin rings of copper or iron wire around the ankles and above the wrist, or catgut strings with thin wire wrapped around them, and also more rarely a thick iron ring around the wrist. The men in particular wear an ornament around their necks which is unknown in Ruanda: a triangular section as thick as a finger, cut from a white shell (ikiresi), hanging on a string; for the most part it is imported from Unjamwesi (No. 19, p. 406) where men also wear it. Similarly, a polished boar's or hippopotamus tooth is worn on a string around the neck (Plate 33). More frequent these days are simple chains of pearls made of small pale pink or white European pearls; more rare are strings with small spindle-shaped wooden pegs strung in a row, with inlaid brass or copper discs like mosaics, or with all kinds of pieces of roots, animals' claws, goats' horns, etc., used as amulets (see p. 132). Small conical or bell-shaped pendants of copper or iron are also often worn in great numbers around the neck (umuhare, (Figs. 3 and 4). The thick disc-shaped wooden ring (ikirinsi), which many Barundi wear around their wrist to protect it from the recoiling bowstring when shooting (see p. 34 and Plates 11, 12b, 13, 30a), is often also merely an ornament. Although it is 20 to 25 centimeters in diameter and despite the delicate structure of the Barundi hand on which it is worn, this disc-ring nevertheless does not look clumsy since it is elegantly formed and inlaid [28] with various linear brass or copper ornaments (Plates 42, 43). The incision on its side through which the disc is slipped on the wrist is so narrow -- two and a half to three and a half centimeters -- that it is hard to see how a man's wrist can be pushed through it. A smooth ball the size of a plum and carved from fruit pits is a sign of rank or is a valuable amulet among the highborn. It is worn on top of the smoothly shaven head on a narrow strip of leather that passes around the back of the head.

301 554

[Text continues on page 41]

2: Meyer--40A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

301
751

Fig. 3. Conical Pendants of Copper. Neck Ornament and Amulet filled with "Medicine." (Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

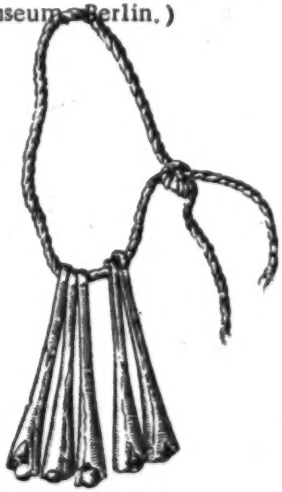


Fig. 4. Iron Bells as Neck Ornament. (Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

901 554 Often a second strip of leather, without the ball, however, goes around the head from the back to the center of the forehead. I have never seen this form of ornament worn by the Bahutu or the common Batussi but only by members of the royal kin group (Baganwa) and by the high batwale (see Plates 11, 13, 14).

302 The hair style of the Barundi is very simple. According to the reports of former travelers, there was much greater variety years ago; today the large majority shave the head completely. For this purpose, after the hair has been somewhat softened with warm water, they use a short shaving knife without a handle. Many of them leave a small, round tuft of hair on top of their heads, more rarely a remnant of hair in a different form. The children frequently appear in long "poodle locks"; they then look like Galla or Somali children (Plate 12b, 16a). The heads of women and girls are usually smooth shaven. If they wear hair, they comb it with wooden combs (Fig. 5). The men also shave their beards; axillary and pubic hair are removed among the Batussi, but not among the Bahutu who have very little anyway. The two bristly fringes of hair running diagonally across the head, which are a national trait of the Banjaruanda, are very seldom seen on a Murundi.

302 515 Common to the Batussi of both regions is the care of the skin by means of various cosmetics. Rubbing with half-liquid butter is the most frequent. Most by far of the butter produced is used for this purpose, and often some raw laterite and the juice of fragrant herbs is added to this skin ointment. Those people who have no cows and, consequently, no butter, such as most of the Bahutu, cannot smear themselves with butter. If this ointment is put on fresh every day, it is quite appetizing and nice, but if, as frequently happens, the butter turns rancid and combines with the smell of sweat and the stench of smoky huts and stables, the fellows stink so much that one can smell them at a distance of ten paces even in the dark of the night. Yet I must say in defense of the Barundi that they like to take a bath whenever water is plentiful, i.e., when drawing

[Text continues on page 42]

287 reforms again under the resin exuding from the wood, and the wound heals. In two years time the tree can be cut once more. The piece of bark which has been removed is first cleaned of the rough outer layer with a knife, then it is placed over a tree trunk lying on the ground and pounded on both sides with a short, grooved, wooden club (Plate 36, 37) until it becomes soft. The sap still in it is then wrung out, as out of a wash rag; the piece is then spread out and dried in the sun. Finally it is sewn with banana bast thread and an awl to other pieces and made into a garment of the size needed for a loincloth or a cloak (No. 19, p. 279). Barkcloth is produced exclusively by
462 men and is, almost without exception, for house and family use only, but in Ruanda there are also special "fundi" who make a business of producing and selling the cloth to other people. The women are concerned only with decorating their
• [301] garments with interlaced borders and lace, while the men [32] also fasten tassels and shoulder tufts as decorations on their garments (Plates 11a, 44, 45). Even King Kisabo liked to indulge in this occupation during his leisure hours, and the same is reported of the mighty chief Lusabiko in east Urundi: "We found the chief busy making fringes out of fine dry grass with which to decorate his bark garment. In this simple Negro, squatting on the ground plaiting fringes, nobody would have suspected the great Lusabiko at whose feet a quarter of the beautiful land of Urundi lies trembling" (No. 14, p. 214).

291 It may be assumed that the Batussi as a pastoral people must originally have worn garments made from cattle hides, as is still the case at present among several pastoral tribes in East Africa, for example, the Massai and Wandorobbo [Wanderobo]. Since they have settled down, however, they have adopted bark-
[292] cloth, among many other things, from the subject Bahutu. Carefully and tastefully prepared hide garments, leopard skin aprons (see pp. 124, 126), and all kinds of ornaments (Plates 11b, 12a, 31, 32) make their appearance only when festive attire is worn at war dances and other celebrations.

Neither men nor women have any headgear. If the sun is too hot, if it rains, or if the head must be protected for some other reason, a corner of the garment is pulled over the bare

443 571 [203] The market is the place where people meet, inspect merchandise and observe other people, gossip, hear and pass on news items, drink pombe, discuss business and non-business matters, and where they do many things which are useful and many others which are superfluous. Many Barundi visit the market even if they do not intend to buy or sell anything, merely to amuse themselves. If things become too lively in [625] the beer section or if a fight starts, the market police aided by the peaceful elements among the population quickly succeed in restoring order.

436 The German East African heller is the current coin at the main markets of Usumbura, Kajagga, and Gitega. Silver rupees, half rupees, and quarter rupees are seldom seen. Apart from the heller, all sorts of other money substitutes are in circulation at other markets of the northern lakeshore belonging to Urundi. The heller has not yet penetrated into the large area of central Urundi, and it is known only at the few missionary and government posts and along the main roads linking them. Even there it is accepted reluctantly. Beads are still the most important medium of exchange in this area, notwithstanding the efforts of the government to introduce hellers and rupees everywhere in order to facilitate not only trade but also the future collection of taxes. These efforts will only meet with success after Urundi has actually been placed under government administration and after a hut or head tax has been introduced which has to be paid in currency. The same is true of Ruanda. There, however, the use of currency has already spread considerably as a result of the export trade and the residency at Kigali with its traders' settlement which has been established in the interior for years.

The small coin most in use in Urundi is the pink bead simsim or samsam; a string (kete, Kette? [Kette, "string" in German]) of beads, approximately 30 centimeters long, is the monetary unit. It is equivalent to three hellers. Ten strings equal 1 ifundo; 10 ifundo equal 1 ingoje; 10 ingoje equal 1 [301] akanono (No. 19, p. 111). The samsam bead is also used as the principal neck ornament of men and women.

325 out with the same instrument. Once on the anvil, the iron is forged with the hammer (injondo), a heavy piece of iron with several edges. It has no wooden handle but is elongated on one end to form a kind of handle so that it may be gripped firmly. The iron is hammered and intermittently made red-hot until it has been purified of all dross. Then it is forged with the 325 hammer into the shape of the desired object. For this purpose 412 any of the following auxiliary tools are used: a thick, rounded pin over whose curved head the glowing piece of iron is hammered into concave shapes, e.g., bells, sleeves for spear points, etc.; a short pointed piece of iron with which simple patterns of dots are engraved in arm rings, chopping knives, and other objects; an old knife to cut pieces of glowing iron in two by using it like a wedge and hitting it with the hammer; a file consisting of a serrated piece of iron with a wooden handle with which any unevenness is rasped off the forged objects after they have cooled down; and finally a few hard, smooth stones for polishing.

[439] I have not been able to ascertain whether the Barundi are familiar with wiredrawing. They use imported European types of iron, copper, or brass wire to wind around their bracelets and knife sheaths.

325 Copper (umurinda) and brass are hardly used at all in 439 Urundi, with the exception of the Tanganyika district where copper and brass have been imported from the Congo (for instance, Katanga) for years and are used for many purposes. In [316] the large interior areas of Urundi no copper ore is mined. The small amount of copper imported from Tanganyika in the form of wire is hammered out cold and used for making simple brace- [301] lets, small bells used as dangling ornaments, small pieces of foil used as inlays for the large wooden arm discs, and other things. Both in Urundi and Ruanda the casting of iron in molds is unknown.

794 the horns of the slaughtered cattle are hung up near the huts or
575 piled up or half buried so that only the tips protrude. Any visitor
796 to Musinga's reception hut in Nyanza notices such half-buried horns near the entrance.

This act of assistance by means of prayer, which must be successful except when it is opposed by "superior powers," marks the conclusion of the long ceremony of the Kubandwa.

Through Father Gassldinger we know a little about the gatherings of the ababandwa in Urundi and of their rituals, chants, and dances (No. 45, pp. 309-314). In Urundi these ceremonies are in most cases for the god Kiranga who plays a far more important role in Urundi than does Riangombe who is predominately worshipped in Ruanda. In Urundi Kiranga is often identified with Riangombe (see p. 121). Thus, in the rites described by Father Gassldinger not Riangombe but Kiranga is the master and protector of the secret society of the ababandwa.

If a prosperous Murundi family has had sickness and other kinds of misfortune during the course of a year, it will celebrate a Kubandwa festival after the grain harvest as soon as the storage bins are full and the brewing of beer has begun. The festival is for Kiranga, and all the ababandwa of the region are invited to attend. First of all, an umubandwa friend at whose kraal the most recent ceremony took place is asked to officiate as hierophant, i.e., as the representative of Kiranga. This
[785] umubandwa prepares himself for the office by isolation and fasting. As soon as he begins to growl and howl in his hut at night, it is a sign that he is possessed by Kiranga, and the celebration can start. One after another the invited ababandwa, men and women, assemble in the courtyard of the host. Kiranga's spirit hut is decorated with young fig branches, freshly cut grass is neatly spread around the hut, and in front of it is placed a block of wood or a low footstool. One of the huge, three-footed beer jugs which are used at the feast of Kiranga is placed next to the footstool. A large, plaited receptacle containing herbs and leaves with which to work magic is placed in the center of the
[302] courtyard. In the meantime the ababandwa paint broad and
[301] narrow stripes of white-yellow clay across their faces; the women also decorate themselves by tying leaves and bands to their hair and arms.

142
291
411

Muganwa Seruschanja (right) with Two Brothers
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

142
291
●301

Barundi Christian Barundi Girls, North Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

Plate 14

2: Meyer--248 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

142
291
301

2: Meyer--249 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 15

Mutussi Girl, Urundi

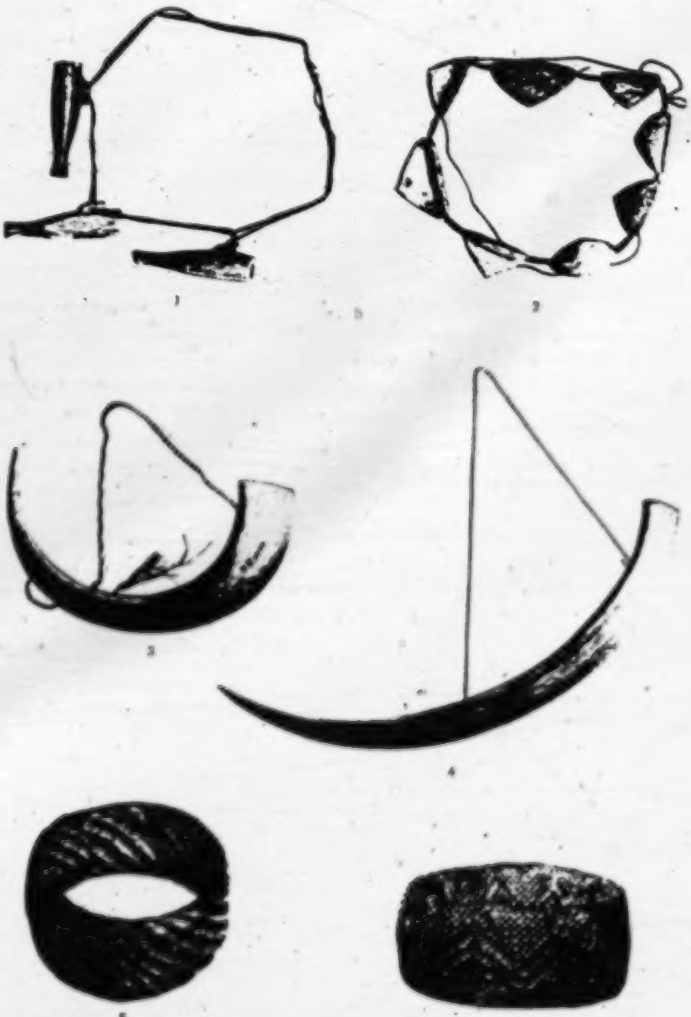
Muhutu Woman, Urundi

Christian Mutussi Girl, Urundi

(Photos. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

Plate 33

301



415
285

No. 1) Neck ornament of bone pipes, 3 1/2 centimeters long. No. 2) Neck ornament of polished shells and red beads, 5 centimeters long. No. 3) Neck ornament of the tooth of a hippopotamus, 14 centimeters long. No. 4) Neck ornament of hippopotamus tooth, 20 centimeters long. No. 5) Bottle stand plaited of straw, 14 centimeters wide. (All at Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

2: Meyer--289 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

301
751
789
321

[531]

Neck Ornaments and Amulets Filled with "Medicine."

Nos. 1, 4) Goat horns, pieces of bone, wooden sticks, 16 and 20 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. — Nos. 2, 3) Carved cattle horns, 9 and 10 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

484 825 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neighborly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, 648 with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their [30] legs as ornaments (1).

1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 651 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 [481] It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] [691] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega. Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

648 The kings of Ruanda also headed numerous expeditions into the Congo with no definite results other than pillage.

133 [137] As a whole, Ruanda is a high, rolling plateau. It was deforested to get rid of wild beasts and to supply pastures and fields for cultivation.

The northwest is a broken, picturesque, wooded region. There stands the chain of volcanoes, practically all of which are extinct today. /24/

The highest peaks are the Karisimbi (1), which is 4, 506 meters high; the Mikeno (2), or Mukuru mubi (3), which is 4, 380 meters high; the Muhabura (4), which is 4, 127 meters high; the Sabyinyo (5), which

[103 301]

1. Karisimbi, from the word amassimbi, a kind of white shell which the Batutsi of Urundi and Ruanda wear at the neck as an ornament. Because of its color it served to designate the snow that covers the summits, and by extension the highest mountain.

[103]

2. Mikeno, from the verb gukena, "to be bare."

[103]

3. Mukuru mubi, "a peak of difficult access."

[103 487]

4. Muhabura, from the verb guhabura, "to set on the right path," because this mountain serves as a landmark for travelers.

[103]

5. Sabyinyo, "big-toothed father," owing to its volcanic ridges.

His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba...," pronounced in a virile tone, recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye...."

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i..." to recall that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

5: Pagès--268 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

142
292
411
301

Warriors in festival dress.

142
292
535

Kayondo dancers.

Young Mututsi (Batutsi) woman carrying her baby on the back.

142
302
[301]
[854]

Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type with long tufts of hair.

Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type.

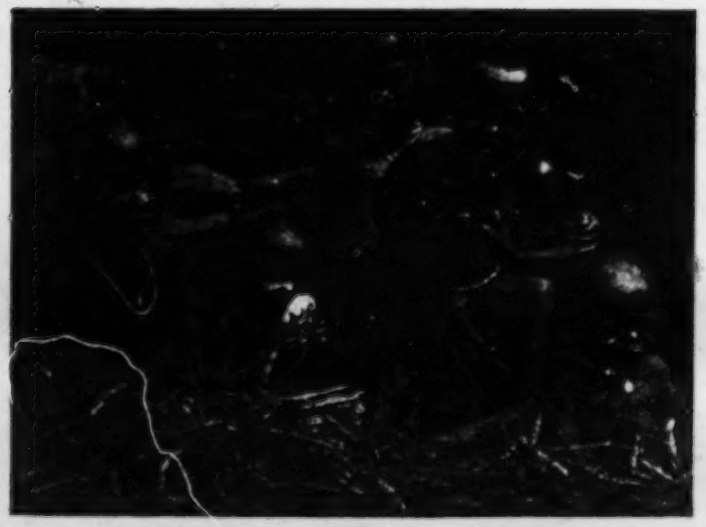
Mututsi type.

5: Pages--285 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Mututsi lady surrounded by her children and her feminine attendants.

291
301
142

Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type.



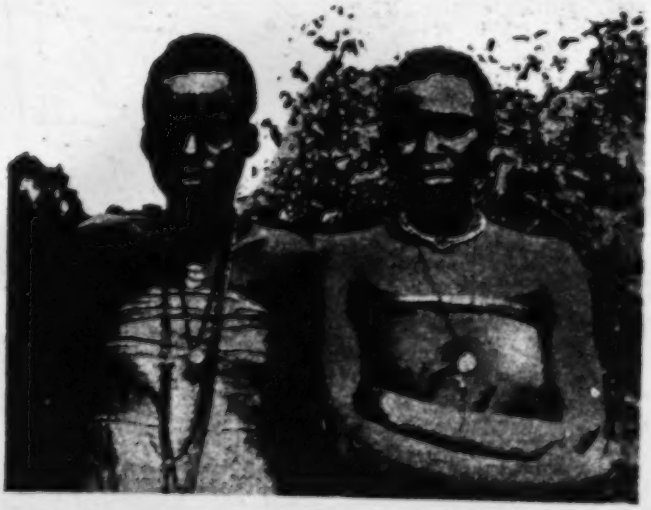
142
291
301

5: Pages--286 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Little girls in children's dress, from the central province of Nduga.

142
291
301
[482]

Two young Bahutu girls.



5: Pages--287 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type. The long fringed costume they wear is made of banana fibers which they have woven themselves.

142
291
301
516

Women of the Muhutu type.

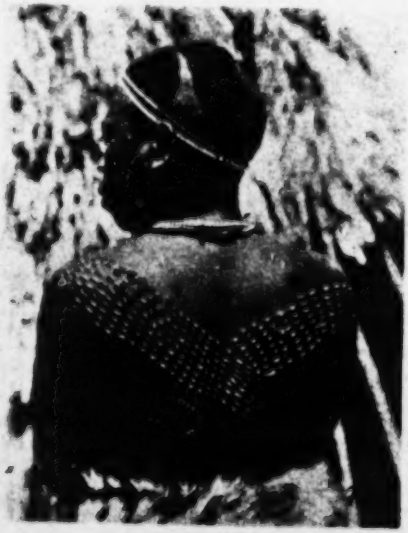
5: Pages--288 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

A leper.

142
164
• 301

Young Muhutu girl with tattooing on the back.

301
302
304



R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to Katana is the salt route, along which salt is transported south and sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and return, laden with salt, in six days.

5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Búgoye, Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170]

Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus, we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bamboo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more apparent, the western elements more or less in the background. The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

291 same type of clothing.

293 The Munyaruanda is familiar with the native umbrella. In its simplest form the improvised umbrella consists of a large banana leaf worn on the head. An actual umbrella is made of the bark of a banana tree stretched on a bowl-shaped frame. It is worn on the head and supported by the back (cf. Vol. III, Plate 23).

291 I saw sandals only near the lava plain in Rulenge (Bgisha). They are made of banana leaves and, like the shoes used in Europe for mountain climbing, have a sole made of flat braid. They wear out very easily on the rough earth, so that on a journey several pairs must be taken along. [174] The natives wear them only when the footing is positively dangerous, otherwise they go barefoot wherever possible. Dr. Kandt (1) mentions the use of

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 478.

sandals among the Batundwe who, it seems, are a northern branch of the Bahunde and live near the southern shore of Lake Albert.

291 Ornaments. In Ruanda only the king wears a head covering;
301 he dons a cap on festive occasions. This cap is cylindrical, 20
554 centimeters high, and embroidered with beads. From it hang strings of beads ending in little embroidered rods. The strings are of two different lengths, so that there are two rows of little rods, one above the other, which form a beaded veil. There are no strings at the back or over the nose, but here there is an embroidered band hanging down below the root of the nose. On this band are three small embroidered rods that rest on the nose and extend to the mouth. A colobus [monkey] skin is fastened to the beaded band. This adjunct deserves special attention, since the priest of Wamara in Nkole adorns his head with a colobus skin, and the animal is the umuziru [prohibited object] of the Bahinda who rule the eastern and northern part of Ruanda.

291 I was not able to determine whether the wearing of the cap
554 by the ruler has any connection with the customs of the people in the Uele Basin where the cap is the privilege of the free man.

291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.

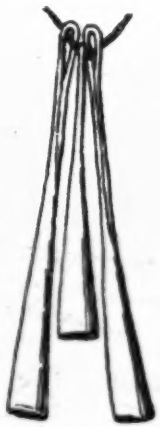


Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

●301 703 Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.

[531]

Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band [175] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Maranyara I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

413 With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 531 322 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

is rectangular in outline and has an elongated handle. The combs, as I observed, are almost always very crudely carved and decorated. On the other hand, Dr. Kandt (1) says of the combs of the Bahunde territory: "I frequently saw combs worn on a string, with three to six teeth, some with very pretty wood carvings. I also saw pins to smooth the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

Fig. 64

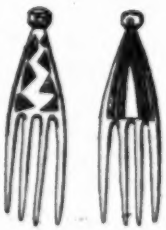


Fig. 65

Fig. 66

Fig. 67

Fig. 64. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13035. 27 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 65. Front and Back of Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13700. 14 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 66. Comb from Nduga. (1/4 actual size. III E 13036. 21 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 67. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13697. 15 1/2 centimeters long.)

hair, made of wood, horn, bone, and other material. These were usually stuck into their curly hair."

The hairpins which Dr. Kandt collected west of Kivu deserve special attention, for they are identical with the hairpins of the Momvu.

• 301

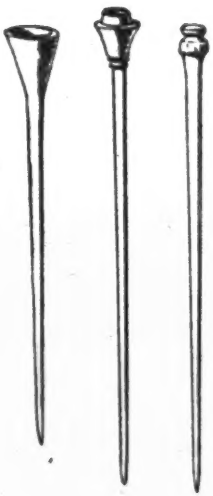


Fig. 68. Hair Pins from western Kivu Districts. (1/2 actual size. III E 10263, III E 10262, and III E 10266. 14, 16, and 15 1/2 centimeters long.)

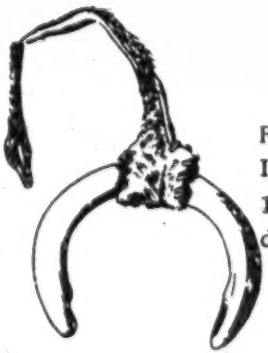


Fig. 69. Head Ornament from Itambi. (1/2 actual size. III 10182. 7 1/2 centimeters in diameter.)

301 The word for them, kassokodso, which we know from Dr. Kandt's research, sounds very much like the Momvu language in which kasso or kosse means "hair of the head." It is not impossible that we have here a trace of the Momvu who have been forced to move south by the Mangbetu of the Uele Basin. [176] Now, since the Mangbetu tribe of the Barumbi [Rumbi] has penetrated almost as far as Lake Edward, it is not improbable that a number of Momvu has been driven by them to the vicinity of Lake Kivu.

Dr. Kandt (1) also says of these regions: "Boars' teeth are

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 443.

also used as ornaments, usually for the head. They are either placed flat on the frontal part of the skull or on the middle of the head so that the thin, sharp part points up and forward. In Ujungu crescents were also worn, à la Diana. They consisted of two boar's teeth, the thick ends of which were hinged together with leather." I saw ornaments of this kind among the Bakondjo; however, they were worn on the chest.

301 554 In general, the personal adornment of the Banyaruanda is neither rich nor manifold. It is not differentiated according to social position. Here persons of higher rank do not wear show-pieces like the king's cap. Outside of Mulera personal adornment does not distinguish the brave man from the coward. There is a difference only in the amount of jewelry worn, for example, on the limbs of women and of the more privileged.

301 Actual body adornment consists of necklaces and bands.

The most common and popular neck ornaments are chains and glass beads strung on bast, if one disregards the numerous amulets which are worn chiefly by the Batutsi. Sometimes one or, less frequently, several cowrie shells are worn in front between the glass beads. One also sees necklaces made of the bones of goats and sheep. These are strung on bast and interspersed with only a few glass beads. Necklaces made of polished shell discs (kissanga) are rare. Sometimes the neckband is a strip of leather with an ivory pendant.

301

Of the regions west of Lake Kivu Dr. Kandt (2) says: "Neck

2. Ibid., p. 443.

and chest ornaments [177] of baby elephants' teeth decorated with black circles like dominoes are also common." I saw none of these in Ruanda proper.

Hip bands are also decorated with beads. It is very striking that for their festivals and religious ceremonies the Batutsi wear a string of beads or several finely plaited straw bands decorated with individual glass beads a hand's breadth above their loincloths (mukane). The fact that these bands are separate from the loincloths shows that they have nothing to do with the latter. It is probable, therefore, that they have been borrowed from the Bahutu who in the region west of Lake Kivu still use them to fasten the article of clothing made of barkcloth which they draw between their legs.

Numerous bracelets and anklets are worn on the limbs. It is very probable that formerly, as among the Bakondjo, ornaments were worn around the calves and the biceps. Even now the men often wear armbands around the biceps, to which are fastened tiny daggers in wooden sheaths. At dances bells are worn around the calves, and west of Kivu people wear "rings made of iron wire decorated with little brass tubes around their calves" (1).

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

[178] The most common form of bracelet consists of a bundle of fine fibers wound so tightly with a spiral of thin wire that the fibers are not visible. This bracelet is usually decorated with a large white or blue glass bead. The bead slides freely along the spiral and is usually worn on the back of the hand. The materials used are brass, copper, and iron. Brass and copper are regarded here as precious metals.

Simple bracelets (ibimfamasuru) made of a bent piece of wire are also worn around the wrist, more in Mulera than in the

6: Czekanowski--72 E-5 (1907-1909) 1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

301
321

Fig. 71. Neck Ornament of Polished Shell Discs, from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 5231a. 44 centimeters long.)

Fig. 70. Necklace of Sheep Bones, Nduga. (1/4 actual size. III E 13038. 2 x 41 centimeters long.)

Fig. 72. Neck Ornament from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 3958. 14 centimeters long.)

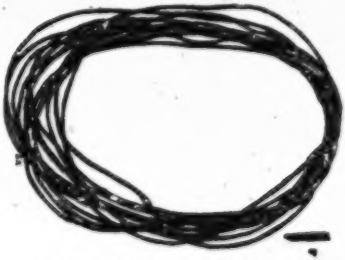


Fig. 73. Hip Bands of Straw, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 9909.)

301 southeast, it would seem. Sometimes the relatively thick wire is flattened so that the bracelet takes the form of a shallow cylinder.

Often several bracelets are worn. Sometimes we also find several thin wires welded together with their ends trimmed, forming a wide bracelet.

Captain W. Von Grawert presented the Berlin Museum of Ethnology with a bracelet which had the edges of the flattened piece of wire bent outward. The groove thus formed was filled with resin in which were imbedded bits of bone. I had an opportunity to see a quite similar bracelet of leather; the grooves contained small glass beads. Dr. Kandt has already described these forms. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

I had no opportunity to see ivory bracelets in Ruanda proper. At any rate, my attention was not drawn to them. On this subject Dr. Kandt says (2): "North of Bunyabungu ivory bands [179] for

2. Ibid., p. 443.

wrists and upper arms become common. In Itambi they are even more frequent, and in Ujungu every third man wears them."

Rings for the legs are, as we have said, worn around the ankles and differ only in size from the bracelets made of wire spirals and worn by the men. Copper is the chief material used for anklets worn every day. On festive occasions, however, the only anklets worn by the Batutsi are made of fine iron wire spirals. So many are worn, one on top of the other, that they weigh several kilograms.

The women of eastern and central Ruanda wear a large number of anklets made of braided grass (butega). These rings placed one on top of the other form a cylinder that reaches almost up to the knees. They weigh so much that they cause the Banyaruanda women to walk with a characteristic dragging gait. [48]

301

[411]

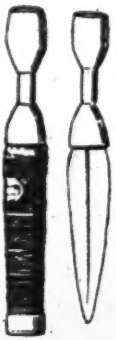


Fig. 74. Dagger Worn on Bracelet, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 9896.)

Fig. 75. Bracelet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 6881.)

Fig. 76

Fig. 77

Fig. 78

Fig. 76. Woman's Bracelet from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. III 13708. 6 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 77. Bracelet of Wire Bands, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L 14964. 7 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 78. Bracelet from Mukinjaga. (1/2 actual size. III E 6895. 7 centimeters in diameter.)

●301 In Mulera the women also wear iron ankets seven to eight millimeters thick, and this I saw neither in Nduga nor in Kissaka. However, the number of butega worn by them was much smaller.

In Bugoye the women wear the same kind of anklets as the men.

276 415 Smoking Equipment. In connection with ornaments we must also discuss pipes and tobacco pouches.

The most commonly used tobacco pouches do not differ from those of the Bakondio. People of distinction have pouches decorated with a fringe of otter skin; on the cheaper ones this is replaced by cords. The pouches are made of braided bast and worn on the chest. However, sometimes they can be seen folded and carried on the head (cf. Vol. III, Plates 4 and 22).

[180] The pouches contain a small supply of tobacco and a [372] pipe. Sometimes they also contain a fire drill and other small items. I had no opportunity to observe tobacco pouches made of goatskin, like the ones used in Kiziba, but occasionally one sees a pouch made of a cow bladder. These are usually tied around the head and worn on the forehead.

276 The Ruanda pipe is very different from the Bahima pipes in the northern part of the interlacustrine region. Whereas the latter have round [181] bowls, the Ruanda pipe has a long, pointed, cone-shaped bowl, into which the cylindrical stem (muhela) fits, attached at a sharp angle. The flaring lip of the bowl (inkono) is sometimes thickened. The pipes used by the Bahutu are usually less slim and graceful, and one not infrequently sees types in which the bowls converge a little at the top, suggesting the somewhat convex Kiziba form. This type usually has an elongated pipe stem.

302 Body Treatment. The actual head ornament of the Banyaruanda is the masunzu, or hair shaved to form patterns. The masunzu are the pride of the male and are sometimes several centimeters long, which of course makes head covering impossible. Although the shaved patterns assume the most beautiful and well-groomed forms among the Batutsi, nevertheless they must, in all probability, be linked with the Bahutu substratum. They extend uninterruptedly beyond the Batutsi sphere of influence toward the west where they seem to be indigenous. On the other hand, in the east among the Bahima this form of decoration is gradually declining and disappearing.

302 I saw masunzu for the first time in Ishenye, on the eastern border of Mpororo.

In Buhaya shaved patterns are seen only on children. Among adults they are no longer customary. In Rufua they were worn by less than half the men, and it is only in southern Bushara that they have become common. On our travels they appeared in conjunction with the bow. Their southern boundary coincides with the southern and eastern border of Uha (Uiungu). (1)

1. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha und Urundi [A Mission Journey to Uha and Urundi]," Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1898, p. 124.

Since the shaved patterns have been fully documented by

[301]

Fig. 79. Woman's Leg Ring of Grass, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E5233. 10 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 80. Cluster of Leg Rings, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13709. 9 centimeters in diameter.)

Lieutenant Fonck and illustrated by Father Van der Burgt (2), I can

2. Van der Brugt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

142
291
●301

Chief of the Batuse, Ruanda

[facing p. 184]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

142
291
301

Wife of a Prince of the Batuse of Ruanda

[Facing page 194]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
[535] panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

ADOPTION

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

SLAVES

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

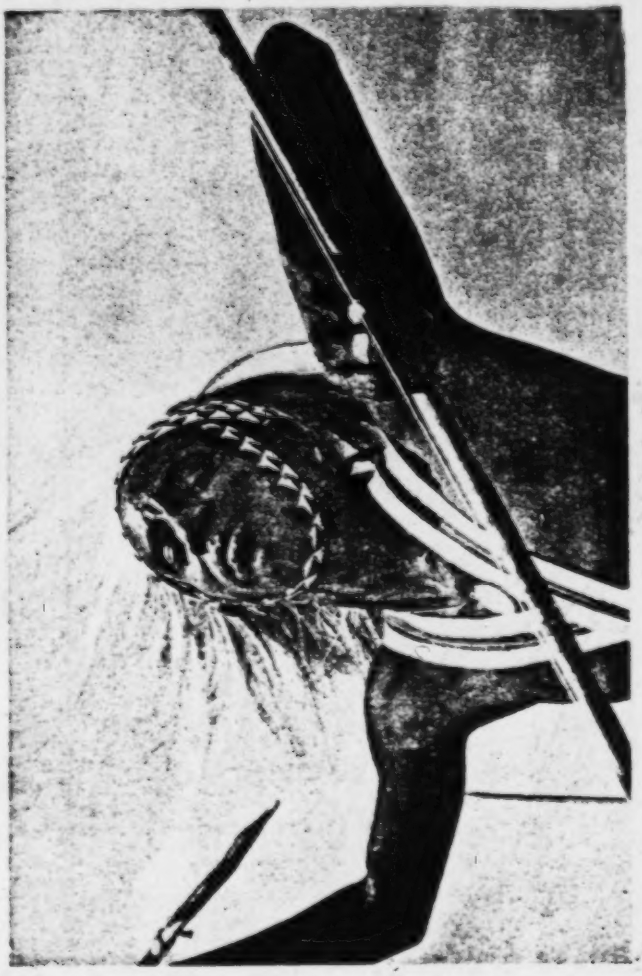
Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 2

192
535
411
301
714



Intore warrior dancing

[Facing P. 23]

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 3

643
892
301
142

The late king, Charles Mutara Rudahigwa

[Facing P 118]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 4

649
292
301
142
531

The queen-mother, Radegonde Nyiramavugo

[Facing P. 119]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

142
291
302
564
516

XIII. A Tutsikazi.

[854
301]

XIV. A Hutu "matriarch".

[following p. 215, A]